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POSSIBLE PRESIDENTS.

FRANK HISCOCK.

FOR twenty-four years the State of New York has given its electoral vote alternately to the two parties, and this singular record will be prolonged in the same order of preference if the Republicans win the campaign of 1888. Rational beings are neither expected nor desired to attach much importance to an irrelevant precedent. Yet, since by common consent all men are superstitious, and since, as the country has learned within four years, a trivial cause can produce an overwhelming result in politics as well as in nature, it is conceivable that the antagonists might be so closely matched as to throw the momentous choice of a President into the hands of that morbid infinitesimal minority who can never quite make up their minds that it is safe to trifle with coincidences, and who at such a juncture would be apt to think that they were amply justified in keeping step with the clear footfalls of fate. But these influences are not logically within the range of calculation, and therefore have no place in a discussion of the duty and opportunity of Republicans at the present moment. New York is not to be abandoned to the manipulation of chance this year. The determination is that it shall be won in a fair fight, and that accidents shall have less to do with the result than they had in 1884. I observe that here and there a sanguine dispenser of political consolation is rising to remark that we do not need the vote of New York to elect a President, and proving by indisputable figures that if a sufficient number of her sisters do their duty the party can laugh the Empire State out of the Electoral College. Burke declared that the age of miracles is past. That great statesman and philosopher has been dead a century less nine years, and we are still living under the same dispensation. New York must be carried,

and it is the business of the party in this State, between now and the 19th of June, to prove itself equal to the emergency by taking the one essential first step toward the November goal.

In some conspicuous instances it has happened that those upon whom Heaven has bestowed the rare felicity of gaining the ardent, almost adoring love of their fellow men, have found that they are none the less subject on that account to the law of compensations, and must be content to expand their affections at the expense of their ambition. Hostility is proportionate to devotion, and the balance is preserved. It is the duty of the few who represent the millions in a political organization, to forecast disaster and calmly to avert it, whether judgment follow the lead of inclination or no. The party is to-day in the possession of an opportunity, to the recognition of which I shall endeavor to contribute. Senator Hiscock stands for the opportunity to which I refer. Let me begin with a few negatives. He is not the leading candidate of the Republican party for the Presidency. He has no deputy at the headquarters of intrigue. He maintains no literary bureau. He has never taken hostages of the newspapers. He is not in the habit of making up his mind as an ornamental preliminary to changing it. He is a statesman and politician of the sort that flourished in the earlier days of the Republic, when sobriety of judgment, a quiet fidelity to present duties, adaptation to the higher planes of controversy, a talent for command when the time came, and a disinclination to anticipate the obligation were among the qualities required of public men.

Born and reared in New York, admitted to the bar in 1855, district attorney, member of the Constitution Convention of 1867, representative for ten years, senator—this is the brief record of extended service from which Frank Hiscock's status and stature are to be determined. To sensible persons the matter of physical perfection is unimportant, if only one be raised above that abyssmal depth of personal ugliness which a Yale professor once described as incompatible. He did not say with what it was incompatible, choosing rather to leave a wide field to the imagination. But without so much as a reference to his exterior advantages, there is no impropriety in the statement that Senator Hiscock possesses an outward distinction corresponding more nearly than fate often permits to the qualities within. The repose which denotes a greater force than it exhibits is one of his attributes, and shallow

critics have sometimes imagined what no one who has ever measured wits with him has had the fortune to discover, that this repose partakes of the nature of lethargy. No such suspicion exists among the lawyers who have encountered the knowledge, the logic and the resource which for thirty years have been his recognized weapons in legal controversy ; nor among the statesmen who have too often had the misery of regretting upon the floor of Congress that their equipment was not equal to his own ; nor among the leaders of his party in this State who have more than once been forced to acknowledge that his skill was not inferior to his magnanimity.

Mr. Hiscock entered the field of national politics in the Forty-fifth Congress, and at once attracted the attention of the country by his discussion of certain contested election cases which were precipitated upon the House. The prominence thus early achieved made him, with the general approval of his Republican colleagues, one of the minority of the investigating committee whose purpose it was supposed at the time to be to dispute the title of President Hayes, and whose labors were unexpectedly diversified by the translation of the historical cipher dispatches. In that investigation he took a prominent if not preëminent part from first to last. In the Forty-sixth Congress he was a member of the committee which then originated all the general appropriations of the government except those for rivers and harbors. After the election of Garfield the speakership was conceded to Mr. Hiscock on both sides of the House ; but Garfield's death and the consequent accession of a President from New York, to which State both the Secretary of the Treasury and the Postmaster General were also apportioned in the geographical distribution of great offices, defeated him, and he was assigned to the chairmanship of the Committee on Appropriations. In the Forty-eighth Congress he was appointed to the Committee on Ways and Means, where he continued until the close of his service in the House. This summary of legislative assignments is a useful indication of the scope of his activities as a Representative. In the fundamental but unobserved labors of the committee room Mr. Hiscock is easily among the first of useful public servants. Speakers upon the floor of Congress may be divided into three classes : those who do not feel that they are filling the eyes of the country—and consequently might as well be silent—when they are not engaged in delivering

elaborate political essays ; those whose natural proclivities or the the suggestions of vanity dispose them to a pyrotechnical display of their readiness in badinage and repartee ; and those whom inclination, obedient to a sense of duty, impels to the more practical work of securing the passage of good measures and the defeat of bad ones by the methodical and cogent presentation of facts conscientiously collected. It is to the last class that Mr. Hiscock belongs. It is his custom to apply his talents in debate to measures pending at the time of his speaking and about to be voted on. The record will show with what diligence and success he has pursued this useful policy. As an example, however, of his resources when he has found a suitable opportunity for the comprehensive treatment of a great general principle, I may be allowed to cite his speech of April 29, 1884, upon the relation of a protective tariff to agriculture, which attracted the immediate attention of the country, confirmed the highest estimate of his powers, and has become a part of the common fund of economic fact and argument. I wish, moreover, before closing this summary of Mr. Hiscock's legislative services, which is meant to be suggestive merely, to recall attention to his speech in the Forty-ninth Congress in opposition to the free coinage of silver, in which, if not absolutely the first to expound the principle that low prices are not the result of a contraction of the currency, but are due rather to the decrease in the labor cost of productions and the increased product per manpower, he so arranged the facts and forced home their significance as to carry conviction where others had scarcely obtained a hearing ; to his plea in the same year for the extension of our commerce, with special reference to the great South Carolina market, in which he incidentally laid low the "subsidy" spectre that demagogues have long employed to frighten timid souls ; to his strenuous defense of American dairies ; to his dissection of the Morrison resolution on Treasury balances, and, during this, his first session in the Senate, to his speeches on the undervaluation of imports and the insidious pretences of the pleuro-pneumonia bill, and to his earnest appeal in behalf of international copyright.

This imperfect indication of the lines along which Senator Hiscock's sympathies and convictions have found expression is not designed to do more than impress upon the minds of those who have neglected to learn and upon the memories of those who might be led to forget his steadfast devotion to Republican ideals, his

firm grasp of great principles, his love of what is intrinsically honest in laws and customs, and his faith that what is true will be permanent. For behind the record stands the man, and if I have partially succeeded in expressing the man we may safely turn to a consideration of his availability.

The word has been abused by its employment to denote a low conception of what conscience and common sense alike demand in a candidate for the Presidency. I beg the privilege of employing it in a very different sense. Senator Hiscock is available because his character, his temperament and his career justify the belief that he would if elected so administer his office as to advance his country; and because his relations to the forces which decide our quadrennial struggle warrant the prediction that if nominated he would be elected. One thing is already determined. Even if the individual preference of New York should not be the choice of the Convention, it is certain that, with such a contest before us, no combination of delegates at Chicago will be so rash as to force upon the Empire State an unwelcome candidate. The nominee will be a man whom the collective judgment of the party in New York believes to possess more strength here and elsewhere than any of his competitors. In his own State—the State of his birth and his home from infancy to the present hour—where his affections are centred, and for which his energies have been trained and expended, Senator Hiscock is invincible. No accident could trip him up. No acknowledged hostility, nor cynical indifference, nor narrow jealousy, nor local prejudice would keep voters at home or send them to the wrong ballot box. And what is true of New York is true of the whole country. There is not a State between the two oceans, nor a locality within a State, in which the conviction of Hiscock's claim upon the votes of men who love their country would not grow steadily stronger from the 19th of June to the 6th of November. We should hear nothing of desperate expedients, of attempts to kindle a fire with a damp combination of forlorn hopes, of empty parade made to pass for genuine enthusiasm, of wasted energy and ultimate despair. The campaign would be conducted on a high level. The dilettante coterie that engages in the discussion of politics only to proclaim that there is no difference between the parties would find before they had had time for many deliverances of this sort that there is a difference too vast to be bridged by a sneer. We should see a

revival of the spirit which has not had too many opportunities to manifest itself in recent years—the spirit that is inflamed only by the assurance that principles are being fought for, and that the battle bears some relation to the eternal verities.

WILLIAM B. ALLISON.

AFTER a century of government we ought to be able to define in some degree the characters chiefly favored by the Republic for its highest office.

In our earlier history this choice was made from the foremost men who were distinguished as leaders in the Revolutionary period and in that of the formation of the Constitution. After Washington, parties began to take shape and to elect their intellectual leaders. This period closed with Madison. With him was ended the epoch of strong, original, and creative statesmanship in Presidents. Monroe came in easily like a natural heir to the throne,—a gently-mannered man, accustomed to affairs of state, calm in judgment, moderate in temper, without initiative, and disposed to consult the wisdom of others. The country had a tranquil administration, and the second term was given to him without opposition.

Quincy Adams, indeed, threatened a return to the era of vigorous thinkers and original statesmanship. With him, consequently, the bitterness of party antagonisms arose, and he was replaced by the first President chosen from the region west of the Alleghanies, a man without precedent history of statesmanship, but well known as a military chief. After Jackson, there was a return toward partisan leadership in the election of Van Buren. But, as in the case of Quincy Adams, bitter antagonisms were developed, his term was short, and the people made his defeat a rout, when they elected Harrison, who was no party leader, but a man of average intellect and a patriot. Polk, Taylor, Pierce, and Buchanan followed, all men of mediocre talent, of mere respectability as statesmen, with greater men than themselves to guide their administration and direct legislation.

A new political era began with the election of Lincoln, a civilian candidate unknown to the country at large, and without experience in public affairs. The popular instinct shown in his

choice was ratified by a wonderful career of patriotism and wisdom, which lifted him so high as to leave him no peer save Washington. Grant was a military candidate, elected because of his vast military service to the nation. In Hayes was again chosen a man representing the average intellect of the people, and who gave to them an upright and uneventful administration. All of these were men of originally humble fortune, and early struggles. They were followed by still another of the same class, but destined to an early end. What his administration would have been, but for the assassin, can never be known. All were Western men. The election of 1884 fell upon an Eastern man of whom little was known as a politician, but who has since developed the Van Buren qualities of partisan leadership.

What in all this drift of practical events is to be taken as the steady tendency of the American judgment? Are there any safe conclusions to be drawn from it touching the national predisposition for certain qualities and characteristics in presidential candidates.

We find that no strong, original, constructive statesman has been chosen by popular vote since Madison. Second: The people have frequently, since 1832, shown a fondness for candidates with a successful war record. Third: They have also, during the later period, been especially inclined to candidates of humble origin, who have nobly fought their way over obstacles to a deserved popular distinction. Fourth: Among civilians, they have turned away from brilliant orators like Wirt, Clay and Webster, and from party leaders like Van Buren, Cass, Douglass, Breckenridge and Greely, and have preferred such men of average intellect as Harrison, Polk, Pierce, Buchanan and Hayes, and as Lincoln was supposed to be when first elected. Fifth: They have turned their backs upon noted partisans who excite rancor and antagonism, and for their supreme office have rather made choice of a candidate from whom they could expect a softening of political asperities, and a conciliatory conduct of public affairs.

Another notable fact attracts attention. During the last fifty years—since 1836, when Van Buren was elected—every Western candidate running against an Eastern candidate has been elected, and the latter defeated. (Fremont was only nominally a Californian.) Whenever a candidate living east of the Alleghanies has been elected, it was against a candidate also from the

East. Every successful *Republican* candidate has been from the West.

This should fairly indicate that the mass of voters find in Western characters a more satisfactory representation of the average national opinion, a more sympathetic appreciation of popular wants, and a greater freedom from class interests than they expect from the older parts of the country—men better disposed to the conciliation of interests and of sentiments between all sections of the country.

Among the civilian candidates now offered for the Presidency, are there any who will attract these dominant currents of national opinion, which have hitherto usually led to success ?

We look for a man not so ambitious as to force himself on his party or the country ; for the people like better to make the candidate than to have one made for them. They have shown such a marked preference for men who represent their estimated average of the requisite mental powers, combined with personal worth and practical sense, that their wishes must be respected. They do not find sufficient assurance of safety in the brilliant flashings of oratory, or in the secret plottings of party leadership. In this the people are wiser than the enthusiasts and man-worshippers who criticise them.

The people of the young, vigorous, agricultural State of Iowa have presented such a candidate as we seek, in the person of William B. Allison. It was done with singular unanimity and with enthusiasm. Having done that, she wants to hear the voice of her sister States. Let us look at this candidate more nearly.

He comes from that frontier stock which peopled the valleys of the Alleghenies, and broke into the forests of Ohio, and changed the wilderness into an abode of free and prosperous men. His blood is derived from that early Irish ancestry which sought civil and religious liberty beyond the reach of British bayonets. Both of his grandfathers and his grandmother found a home in the interior of Pennsylvania. His father was born in 1798, at Bellefonte, in that State ; but sought new lands and a new home further west in 1823. On the farm of 80 acres which his father opened in Wayne County, Ohio, and in the log house which he built upon it, this son was born, March 2d, 1829.

At this frontiersman's house he learned how poor men live and labor. In the winters he pursued the usual studies at a com-

mon school in the timber, two miles away, and received there the customary discipline of flogging. By the common toil of an intelligent family the farm became more prosperous, and was enlarged. His father was glad to yield to the boy's wishes for a better education, and sent him for two years to the academy at Wooster, his vacations being occupied with work on the farm. It was the old story of our Western farm boys. He had no sooner learned enough to know how much more than was to learn than he became impatient to acquire more and higher education, and found it first at the Alleghany College in Meadville, Pa., and next at the Western Reserve College in Ohio. By perseverance, and by earning something for himself, he was then able to read law. He commenced its practice at Ashland, and also began to take part in the political movements of the time, in support of Scott and Fremont, and of liberty against slavery.

But fortune did not smile sufficiently upon the young lawyer in a community where too many older men competed with the young, and the frontier blood in his veins impelled him further West. He had heard of the virgin prairies and growing villages of Iowa, not long before won from the Indian tribes. In 1857 he made his home under the bluffs of Dubuque, where he now lives. Soon after the election of Lincoln, to whose support he contributed all the vigor of his young manhood; the Southern rebellion roused the young blood of the North and the loyalty of the whole country. The men of Iowa left their plows to grasp their guns and crowded to the rendezvous for enrollment into regiments. The governor summoned Allison to his staff, with the rank of colonel, to aid in the organization and equipment of these regiments for the field. This work he performed with zeal and energy until prostrated by exposure in camp and consequent illness.

The next year, 1862, the Northwestern district of Iowa elected Colonel Allison to Congress by a very large majority, and again in 1864 by an increased majority, and continued him in the House for four Congresses, when he declined a renomination. But his vacation was short. In 1872 the State sent him to the United States Senate, and has kept him there ever since, without any struggle for a change, so satisfactory has been his public service. It has been his fortune to serve chiefly on the great committees of Ways and Means, Appropriations and Finance, bringing him in close contact with all the machinery and all the varied operations

of government, and with all the great industries of the people. In this knowledge he is unsurpassed. The record of the great Republican measures which have given freedom to a race and prosperity to the nation is also his record. The amendment offered by him, and his casting votes, settled the sharp controversy touching the present silver coinage act. He believed that for many years we could depend upon the great continental area and increasing population of our country to absorb silver money, without displacement of gold. So long as they maintained harmony in circulation, he foresaw plainly the increase of the circulating medium, by adding silver to gold and paper, and the consequent reduction in rates of interest, with increased facilities for business. Beyond this point of community of circulation and value he has never proposed to go. In this he has had the endorsement of the nation.

He is equally divided upon the other important and pending questions of our national industries and labor. He believes in their steady protection against foreign capitalists and foreign paupers. He believes in high wages rather than low, because high wages educate more, consume more, and buy more, and make better citizens. He would protect Christian labor against Chinese because the former can be assimilated and naturalized into citizenship; the latter never—it is always an alien. In a word, he is American, not British nor Asiatic.

In debate Col. Allison is not an orator, but a clear, honest and direct speaker; as free from flourishes of fancy as was Madison. The confidence of the Senate in his statements is very notable, his explanations being so uniformly trustworthy. The country first, and the party for the country is his guiding maxim. His methods and his manners are so unpretentious and conciliatory that they invite support instead of provoking antagonism.

Such is the public man. The private man is affable, accessible, friendly, and fond of domestic life. His second marriage was with the daughter of the late Senator Grimes, a lady of most winning manners, and lovely character. His grief at her loss in 1883 is still shared by his friends. For her sake he declined the offered seat in General Garfield's Cabinet, as Secretary of the Treasury. He loves his friends, and has no enemies to hate. "Stalwarts" and "half-breeds" alike respected his personal independence and

amiable character, which made them his friends, but which forbade him to wear the yoke of either. All the displaced wheels of a great party could adjust themselves to this balance-wheel without friction, and without embarrassment. More brilliant intellects than his own could shine in his Cabinet, as they did in Monroe's and Lincoln's, and derive strength from that incandescent light of COMMON SENSE which is Col. Allison's high characteristic. It is this which will form a strong bond between him and the American people, of whose judgment it makes him the true interpreter. His administration would bring in an era of peace, confidence and goodwill; replacing an epoch of the violation of public pledges, and of political assaults on national industries and labor.

The intellect of Col. Allison, his temper, carefulness in public affairs, and conciliatory character, bear so striking a resemblance to those qualities in President Monroe, that we should confidently expect for his administration a like success, and an unanimity of approval like that which greeted Monroe in 1821.

CHAUNCEY MITCHELL DEPEW.

THE good luck of Mr. Depew has not deserted him in this series. "The first shall be last and the last first," says the Scriptural proverb. Mr. Blaine, who was the first on the list of Possible Presidents,* has written a letter declining to be a candidate. Mr. Depew, last, but not least, comes to the front at the finish, like a racehorse that has reserved its supreme speed. In the next number of this Review the name of the Probable President may appear, even if the sure successor to Mr. Cleveland be not infallibly indicated by events.

There are many politicians, both Republican and Democratic, in whom the wish is father to the thought, who confidently predict that, after a few indecisive ballots, a cyclone of enthusiasm will burst upon the Republican National Convention, and Mr. Blaine be nominated by acclamation. Fortunately the Republicans do not require a cyclone.

It might be an excellent thing for the country if the coming

* See POSSIBLE PRESIDENTS, J. G. BLAINE, NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, September, 1887.

election could be decided upon principles, not men; if both parties would toe the mark squarely upon the Tariff question, the Democrats boldly advocating that Free Trade policy which they call tariff reduction, and the Republicans as boldly declaring for Protection and the abolition of the Internal Revenue taxes. The immense surplus urges its one hundred and fifty millions of arguments in favor of some policy that will prevent the useless accumulation of the people's money in the Treasury, and the people ought to settle by their votes whether they prefer to have cheaper imported goods and raw materials or cheaper whiskey, domestic wines and tobacco, with the privilege of conducting their business undisturbed by the supervision of government spies. This plain question, properly put before the country, might break up the solid South and the solid West. Some Southern States might be tempted from Democracy by the offer of free tobacco; some Western States from Republicanism by the offer of free imports, and the nation would be benefitted by these changes. But, as this simple issue would also break up both of the present political parties, it will be impossible to raise the question so bluntly in November. There are strong Protectionists among the Democrats; there are equally strong Free Traders among the Republicans. Neither party will deprive itself of a large body of voters by taking a decided stand. The Democrats will argue that their tariff reduction is only a measure of expediency, to get rid of the surplus, and the Republicans will endeavor to take advantage of the blunders of their adversaries without presenting any definite alternative. Therefore, the coming election, like the last, will be practically fought out in New York; and here is the unequaled strength of Mr. Depew.

The change of a few hundred votes in New York would have defeated Mr. Cleveland. Now, the candidacy of Mr. Depew would change several thousands of votes in this State, drawing them from the discontented Democrats, from the Mugwumps, from that class who are usually indifferent and call themselves Independent.

Mr. Cleveland carried New York because he had been a reform Mayor and a reform Governor, and because he had the prestige and assistance of Mr. Tilden, and because the Stalwarts and the Mugwumps feared and hated Mr. Blaine. This fear and hatred does not extend to Mr. Depew. The Stalwarts have no leader.

The Mugwumps confess the futility of intrusting their Civil Service hobby to the party of Andrew Jackson. In local popularity Mr. Cleveland cannot compare with Mr. Depew, who has been identified with New York all his life. He was born of an old Dutch family, at Peekskill; he was educated in New York; he graduated at Yale, then joined the New York Bar, and made his début in politics at Albany. He knows personally every politician and almost every journalist in the State, and all of them, irrespective of party, admire and esteem him. He was a lobbyist at the time when votes were won by wit and argument and influence, not bought with bribes of hard cash paid through an accredited agent or over the poker table. Commodore Vanderbilt engaged him as counsel for the New York Central Railroad, at a salary of \$25,000 a year—then the salary of the President of the United States—and he always acknowledged that Mr. Depew earned the money. He could not have earned it by corrupt, dishonest practices, for he has retained the confidence of the Vanderbilt family, and now has charge of their vast railroad interests. Had he been a lobby agent of the modern type, Commodore Vanderbilt would have used him, but never trusted him. The Vanderbilt connection, which has been made an objection to the nomination of Mr. Depew, is his clear certificate of integrity, fidelity, and honor.

Another phase of this objection is the presumed hostility to Mr. Depew of what is called the Labor Vote. He has always been associated with Capital and capitalists; he has been the attorney and is now the chief officer of a railroad, and this brands him with the stigma of Monopoly, to which the workingmen are bitterly opposed. But there is another side to this argument. Mr. Depew has been a firm friend of his employés; they trust him; they have found no strikes nor boycotts necessary on the lines which he manages; on the contrary, they have stood out against every effort to drag the Depew roads into the labor troubles of other corporations. His men are kindly cared for, on duty and off duty. They are promoted from the ranks for good conduct. One of them, James Henry Rutter, who began as a clerk in the freight-office, was made president of the New York Central. They have fair hours and fair pay, and they have been presented with a handsome club-house in which to enjoy themselves. There is no doubt that every person in the employ of Mr. Depew would cast a Labor

Vote for him. But are other workingmen to be credited with no common-sense? Have they not observed, and perhaps envied, the happy family on Mr. Depew's lines? Instead of being frightened into voting against him by the bugbear of Monopoly, may they not enthusiastically support him, singling him out as a model to other employers, elevating him as a shining example, and thus demonstrating that American workingmen can appreciate and reward just and kindly treatment? To doubt this is to condemn the Labor Party as destitute of reason.

As between Mr. Depew and any other Possible Candidate yet named in either party, the probabilities are that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Knights of Labor, the Anti-Poverty Society, and the Henry George faction—if Mr. George have a following now—would indorse Mr. Depew. Why should any workingman oppose one of the best employers that workingmen ever had? Socialists and Anarchists may shut their eyes to facts and blindly attack all capitalists indiscriminately; but their votes are too few to be of consequence.

Recent State conventions in Connecticut and New Jersey have shown that, upon the Tariff issue, these may be doubtful States. The Democratic conventions have eulogized Mr. Cleveland as a political necessity; but they have not heartily approved of his Tariff schemes. The New Jersey Democrats want their manufactures protected. The Connecticut Democrats want their tobacco farms freed from taxation. Mr. Depew's position, as defined in his Chicago oration and in the resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Union League Club, over which he presided, is the same as that of Mr. Blaine and Senator Sherman. He is in favor of abolishing the Internal Revenue system and of a tariff for the protection of American industries. Granting, then, that in this respect he is equal to Blaine and Sherman in these pivotal States, his railroad influence gives him immense advantages over them as a Presidential candidate.

Connecticut and New Jersey are State bridges, across which dash the trains that connect New York with the East and the South. They are gridironed with railroads in their politics as well as on their soil. The railroads pay their State taxes; build up their cities and towns; take their products to market; enable their manufacturers to compete with those of the metropolis. The railroad associations of Mr. Depew are thus invaluable to

him in the very States where reinforcements are most needed by the Republicans. Any Republican candidate can obtain the electoral votes of Maine ; any good Republican candidate can be sure of Ohio ; but Mr. Depew, through the peculiar circumstances of his position is the only Republican candidate who can be certain of a large vote, outside of his own party, in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. This Railroad Vote is quite as important, if its effect upon State legislatures be any criterion, as the Labor Vote. It elected President Garfield, although the Stalwarts claimed to have organized the victory. Not until a few days before the election, after a cipher message had been telegraphed along the railroad lines, did the Garfield managers feel secure. When the secret history of that campaign comes to be written, it will be seen that Jay Gould had more influence upon the election than Grant and Conkling.

Mr. Blaine astonished his party, in 1884, by coaxing a large number of Irish voters from the Democratic camp. It had previously been understood that every Irishman was born a Democrat and voted the Democratic ticket as naturally as a duck takes to water. There was nothing objectionable to the Irish in Mr. Cleveland ; nothing in his record to offend the most fanatical Home Ruler. Yet, almost without warning, the Sixty-ninth Regiment deserted the Democratic colors, and a numerous Irish contingent followed and cut down the Cleveland vote in New York amazingly. Why ? Was it because of the whisper that Mr. Blaine or his wife or some member of his family was a Catholic ? Was it because the Irish voters expected that Mr. Blaine would declare war against England ? Whatever the motive, it was strong enough to hold the Irish voters in spite of the Rev. Mr. Burchard's malapropos alliteration. It still holds them ; for, when Governor Hill presented Archbishop Croke's flag to the Sixty-ninth Regiment, a few weeks ago, Mr. Cleveland's name was hissed. Now, whatever strength there may be in Irish sympathy, Mr. Depew shares it equally with Mr. Blaine. The incident at the banquet of the St. George Society has developed this feeling. Professor Goldwin Smith, whose aggressiveness is said to have exiled him from England and made cold Canada too warm for him, undertook to instruct our British residents in regard to American sentiment toward Ireland. He said that the educated classes in this country do not sympathize with the Irish in the

struggle for Home Rule. This was Mr. Depew's opportunity. Under his grave, sedate demeanor, he began to roast the Professor with witty words that literally burned. He modestly claimed to know as much about American sentiment as the exile from Oxford, and eloquently asserted that nine-tenths of the American people, of all classes, educated or uneducated, are in favor of Home Rule everywhere. The courteous but indignant phrases blistered Professor Smith's notoriously sensitive skin, and, in his sufferings a few days after, he interrupted his lecture upon poetry, at Ithaca, to complain that he had been insulted at the St. George banquet by "a politician in the way of his trade." Mr. Depew is not a professional politician, nor is it his "trade" to win votes; but, had the pursuit of popularity been his avocation he could not have succeeded more completely than by his prompt rebuke to Professor Smith.

Equally successful, but in a different spirit, was Mr. Depew's speech at the Grant Birthday dinner, when, in the presence of representative Union and Confederate soldiers, he crumpled up "the bloody shirt" and threw it under the table, like a used napkin. "The political divisions of our country," he said, "are inevitable and necessary for its freedom and prosperity; but they should not be upon sectional lines. A solid North has been broken. A solid South should also disappear. We leave this hall to carry into the Presidential campaign our best efforts for the success of the principles in which we believe, the parties to which we belong, and the candidates whom we honor. Let us make no compromise of principles; but let us remember that the country is greater than the party. To-night the spirit of the great Commander hovers over us and passes us in review. Let us be worthy of his approbation by bringing about such coalitions, all over the country, that we may fight our political battles under the common banner of patriotism and peace."

The next day the papers which published this oration announced that "Depew's Boom is Growing." It grew because everybody who heard or read the speech felt that Mr. Depew was worthy of the Presidency. Ex-Congressman Smart, one of the former Stalwart leaders, a delegate to the Chicago Convention, said: "The Stalwarts can support Depew. He has never stooped to any intrigues against us; he has the respect of all Republicans, irrespective of factions. With the New York delegation at

his back, as I believe it will be, I do not see what there is to prevent his nomination."

But New York will present Mr. Depew's name to the Republican Convention with loving reluctance, as well as with pride. To part from him, even to make him President, will be a sacrifice. The country will be the gainer, but New York will lose its favorite orator. At every public dinner, social, political, collegiate, literary, artistic, he will be missed. President Depew may be present, but the Chauncey M. Depew, who so often set the table in a roar or thrilled the applauding crowd, will be absent; for a President, like the Speaker of the House, must not orate. Who, having once seen him rise at a friendly banquet, can forget the tall, solemn figure; the face, clean-shaven, except for its neatly trimmed whiskers; the large, bluish-gray eyes; the preternaturally demure demeanor; the appearance and deportment of an English barrister without his wig, or an English clergyman without his gown? Who, having once heard him, can forget the cool, calm, tireless voice that gives a new force to fun and a new depth to eloquence?

Unlike all other American humorists, Mr. Depew coins no comic phrases, tells no stories, makes no puns, indulges in no tricks of words or manner. Unlike all other American orators, he seeks to inflame no passions, to excite no prejudices; he says nothing and does nothing to arouse his hearers. Like Antony, he "only speaks right on," expressing plain, common sense in simple language. If this common sense exposes shams, makes pretences ridiculous and affectations absurd, the room rocks with laughter. If it inspires patriotism, stimulates sentiment, impresses great thoughts upon the audience, the hall rings with cheers. Before a jury or a Legislative committee, or a political meeting, or a dinner party, Mr. Depew's manner and method are the same. He is as fluent as Gladstone; but, while Gladstone's sentences are verbose, Depew's are terse and clear. His eloquence is like the ocean, that tosses up waves of wit and crests them with the foam of poetry; but beneath, the sparkling surface is deep and steadfast and mighty. When his audience roar, he seems unconscious of the fun. When they hurrah, there is no answering flash in his steady eyes. He means what he says; he has thought it all out carefully, as his logical arrangement and felicitous phrases prove; he says it because it is his duty to speak, and he is unconcerned

whether those who hear him laugh or cheer so long as they allow him to convince them of the correctness of his views, be they serious or satirical.

Such, in his person, his oratory, his business associations, and his political advantages is the Possible President whom New York recommends to the Republican Convention. No one can be asked to love him for the enemies he has made, because he has never made any—except Prof. Goldwin Smith! He is everybody's friend: the Felix Featherly of American politics. Among the Republican candidates he is the "Seek No Further;" rosy, sweet, delicious, nutritious, and sound to the core; but if the Republicans do not choose to take him, because he has ripened in the Vanderbilt orchard, so much the worse for their taste and health—and Mr. Depew will still smile contentedly in the golden sunshine of general popularity.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

ON the 13th of October, 1660, Samuel Pepys made this record in his diary: "I went out to Charing Cross to see Major-General Harrison hanged, drawn and quartered; which was done there, he looking as cheerful as any man could do in that condition. He was presently cut down and his head and heart shown to the people, at which there was great shouts of joy. It is said that he said that he was sure to come shortly at the right hand of Christ to judge them that now had judged him, and that his wife do expect his coming again. Thus it was my chance to see the King beheaded at White Hall and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the King at Charing Cross."

The descendants of Thomas Harrison, the patriot of the commonwealth, who had been appointed by Cromwell to convey Charles I. from Windsor to White Hall, and who sat as one of his judges, emigrated to America in early colonial days, and preserving the family traditions, in due time furnished a signer of the Declaration of Independence, in the person of Benjamin Harrison, who was sent in 1774 to the Continental Congress from Virginia, was twice a Representative and thrice Governor of the State. Dying in 1791, he left a son, William Henry, who for half a century served his country in peace and war; fought the battle of

Tippecanoe, where he gained a useful sobriquet in addition to his fair share of martial fame; was Representative, Senator and Foreign Minister, and died in the White House one month after his inauguration as ninth President of the United States. Among his surviving children was John Scott, who was a Member of Congress for two terms, and who otherwise served his country by begetting a son, Benjamin Harrison, for whom the American people are likely to think ninety-six months in the White House none too long a tenure. Benjamin was born August 20, 1833, in his grandfather's house at North Bend, Ohio. He was graduated at Miami University, which, being established in the town of Oxford, might have taken a statelier name without opprobrium; was admitted to the bar, married at the age of twenty, removed to Indianapolis, gained an early reputation for diligence and pertinacity, entered public life as an ardent speaker in the great campaign of 1856, was elected Reporter of the Supreme Court of Indiana, abandoned his family and his profession to enter the volunteer army as a lieutenant, fought long and well and went home a Brigadier General. The sunshine of military fame did not blind him to the sober but solid advantages of legal eminence, and he took up again the studies and labors of an advocate, steadily achieved a secure position at the bar, and in the respect of his fellow-citizens, was the Republican candidate for Governor of Indiana in 1876, was elected a United States Senator in 1881, and served six years.

This is the brief record of a life which is familiar enough to make complete details unnecessary for my purpose. It was not my design to write a campaign biography of General Harrison, but merely to draw the salient outlines, before proceeding to a consideration of the opportunity which his preservation to this time in undoubted health and strength and eager capacity for wider service offers to his party. It is not a dazzling career and his is not adazzling personality; but he has wrought out within and about him a combination of conditions which, at this moment, are as valuable to the Republican organization as they are creditable to himself. It may be said, without much danger of contradiction, that a considerable proportion of the native-born citizens of the United States, above the age of 35 years, are candidates for the Presidency, and it is not improbable that in the day when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed, a marvelously long procession

could be formed of those who, unsuspected of their fellows, have felt at one time or another, at least, the first faint ecstasy of hope. But from the point of view which common sense assumes, the only candidates worth talking about are those about whom great numbers of practical men have already talked. Practical men, I say; if any one prefers the phrase practical politicians, I shall not quarrel with him. I may have occasion to use the word several times, and I shall use it unblushingly. It happens to be the only word which the language offers for the use of the idea, and it has, moreover, for honorable men, an honorable significance. There were heroes before Agamemnon, and there will be politicians long after the delicate creatures who shrink from anything short of "statesmanship" have been laid to rest. Nothing is more absurd, and there are manifold absurdities in current discussion, than the fancy that a certain body of men called "the people" can ever hold to their hearts or present to the gaze of the world a candidate for popular suffrage with whom a certain other body of men called "the politicians" will have nothing to do. The man whom the people want—the people's candidate—is the man whom the politicians spend their days and nights in looking for; and when they have found him they hold him fast. It always has been so, and always will be so, wherever the voters are free and intelligent. Let us then accept the simple definition of a candidate for the Republican nomination in this year of grace and promise, as one who now, three weeks before the convention, is believed by many efficient captains in the party organization, each representing directly and inevitably many party voters, to be the man for whom all are searching. Of course "dark horses" have more than once pranced out of political conventions with the blue ribbon round their necks. Under the spur of the moment, they sometimes come in winners, but they have no place in a preliminary examination. Discuss their points, and they are no longer dark. General Harrison is a candidate—open, avowed, accepted, approved. We have seen who he is, let us see what he represents.

In the first place he represents the Republican party of Indiana, which has just instructed its delegates to Chicago to present him to the convention as its unreserved choice. Indiana must always be thought of among the first when the subject of doubtful States is introduced. It has been for eight years at least and will be this year fair fighting ground, where the greater skill and

prudence and energy are sure of their reward, and where a blunder is most fatal. There is no disposition on the part of Indiana Republicans to sacrifice the party to local pride. They are not in the mood to trifle with the great electoral vote of New York. But they are absolutely certain that they can give their own fifteen electoral votes to the Republican nominee if the essential opportunity is afforded them; that with General Harrison for President the second place on the ticket would in the natural order of things be so filled as to secure the nine votes of New Jersey and the six votes of Connecticut—possibly also the twelve votes of Virginia—and all this without the loss of a single existing chance in any other State. If New York were able to name a candidate, elsewhere unopposed, and fortified by any such prevailing assurance of his ability to carry that State against all contingencies as exists with respect to Harrison and Indiana, the problem would be solved, and the work of the convention done in advance. But no man occupies that position. We hear the off-hand announcement and the glib consent that this candidate or that can win New York, but such utterances neither express nor carry a conviction. Those who make them really mean that they are inclined to think that under favorable conditions, which may or may not exist, and with the accidents of a campaign in their favor, the result would probably verify their prediction. This state of mind is as far removed as possible from that in which Indiana Republicans are steadfastly supporting General Harrison. They know that he can carry Indiana. That is one of the things which are settled. And, moreover, on that point the rest of the country agrees with them. His most prejudiced adversary has never even hinted at the possibility that he might lose his own State. Indiana is his, now and in November. It is no part of my purpose to promote the choice of any candidate for the Vice-Presidency. But I will venture merely to observe in passing that the possibilities suggested by the combination of Harrison and Phelps, or Harrison and Hawley are exceedingly pleasant to contemplate.

I have naturally written first of General Harrison in his relations to the Indiana canvass, with a bare allusion to his strength elsewhere; but I have no concession in reserve. I cannot detect in any quarter the growth of a respectable conviction that his selection would imperil any existing chance of Republican success.

He has the requisite capacity and the requisite availability. For the pleasure of consigning to its own place the sneer with which this word is sometimes uttered I desire to say that to be an "available" Republican candidate for the Presidency is to be all that a man can reasonably hope to make himself in this world, by way of preparation for a world to come. It is to be brave, sincere, high-minded and humane, ambitious and competent to grasp the rewards of ambition. It is, besides this, to have impressed upon the minds and hearts of many men in many places the sense of confidence, of admiration and gratitude. It is in such an attitude and on such an eminence that General Harrison's career and character have placed him before the people. This is a family discussion, and we all want to reach the truth before it is ended. Let us therefore look across the continent and see what there really is in the talk about a dangerous hostility to General Harrison on the Pacific Slope. It has suited the convenience of a few of our brethren, whose intentions are more apparent than their discrimination, to raise a cloud of suspicious dust around the Chinese question, with the expectation that others will not care to strain their eyes in the effort to see through it. I have noticed that they will not demean themselves by descending to particulars, and that I may not annoy them needlessly, and because my time is short, I will deny myself the pleasure of expounding the record. General Harrison has no reason either to fear or regret his attitude on the Chinese question. If at any time there was a disposition on the part of some who feel deeply but do not always see straight to put an imaginary interpretation upon the purposes of a statesman who has enjoyed the somewhat rare advantage of bringing both a clear conscience and a clear head to the solution of problems which involve the future, that time has passed, and with it have disappeared the passion and the prejudice which clouded the issue. The Chinese question has been settled for many years to come by treaty stipulations, and is no longer an affair for practical politics to deal with. The Pacific Coast will unite cordially in the sentiment which is impelling the nearer Western States to recognize in the candidacy of General Harrison a unique combination of advantages.

I have alluded to the cheerful prospect which a happy combination with General Harrison as the head of the ticket affords. The capture of Indiana and New Jersey from the enemy's column

would make the result in New York a matter of practical indifference at the end of the campaign. But I am not zealous to reckon on so small a margin. Allowing, for the sake of the argument, that the Empire State is indispensable, is there a candidate in the field who dares claim for himself, or whose friends dare claim for him, that he can poll more votes than Harrison? Is there one who does not see himself confronted on the threshold of the struggle with some element of opposition that can be neither laughed nor argued out of sight? Whether it be the ghost of Roscoe Conkling, or the trail of a corporation, or the favor or enmity of Wall street, or the apprehension of industry, there it is—a very ugly object for a nervous man to behold. But Harrison is obliged to make no such disquieting confession. He is neither the *protégé* nor the *bête noir* of a faction. He represents in New York as completely as in Indiana the record and the aspirations of a united party. He is not a victim of the fatal delusion that a candidate is strong in proportion as he caters to the fag end of this or that class or nationality. His advocates expect him to poll the full vote that properly belongs to the unmistakable embodiment of Republican principles. That vote has not been polled in recent years. When it is, the man for whom it is cast will be elected.